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The Mission of the United States in the cause of Peace

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THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

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BY

DAVID J. BREWER

Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF PEACE
29A BEACON STREET, BOSTON
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THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

ADDRESS OF HON. DAVID J. BREWER, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., JUNE 12, 1909

First a thought, a wish, then a faith, next a struggle, at last a fact. So have entered into human life and history some of its profoundest truths. Such has been and is to be the story of universal peace.

For untold centuries, on the battle field were settled all tribal, all national disputes. Blood was the ink, and death wrote the judgment. Yet in the heart was the thought that there must be some better method of settlement, and they who suffered looked longingly for its appearance. But thought and wish were only the shadowy pictures of a dream.

Twenty centuries ago there came a change. The heavens above the plains of Bethlehem were filled with a white-robed choir, and the only song of the heavens ever heard by the children of men broke the stillness of night. Peace on earth was that angel song. In a manger in the little town of Bethlehem lay a new-born child. His mother bent above her sleeping babe, and though the record is silent, you may be sure she heard the angelic song. For no ear is so acute to catch the slightest notes of prophetic song as the ear of a mother. Around the early days of that

infant gathered many foreshadowings, and "Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart." The child grew to manhood, revealed himself in a short and wondrous three years, and in the "upper chamber," bidding farewell to his few followers, declared, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." The increasing multitudes who have looked up to Jesus of Nazareth as their leader have taken his life and words as promise and prophecy, and faith in the coming of universal peace is the inspiration of humanity.

It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold;
Peace on the earth, goodwill to men
From heaven's all-gracious king!

The air above Judea's plains no longer pulsates with the waves of this celestial song. For sad and weary centuries the grand march of humanity upwards has been through strife and blood. But a growing echo of the heavenly music is filling the hearts of men, and the time will come, the blessed time will come

When the whole world gives back the song
Which now the angels sing.

Now we are in the third era, and earnest men and women are working, determined to put an end to the arbitrament of the sword. The coming music will not tell of the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war," but will be a refrain of the angelic song, "Peace on earth." Our own loved land witnesseth the strength of the struggle and will be the great leader. And this is so notwithstanding present shouting for a larger navy.

I shall not stop to discuss the question whether a state of peace is better than one of war. If any one doubts it I am content to quote the words of General Sherman that "war is hell." The less of hell individuals and nations have the better. In order to bring about the condition of peace, a minimum of army and navy is the most effective way. There never yet was a nation which built up a maximum of army and navy that did not get into war, and the pretense current in certain circles that the best way to preserve peace is to build up an enormous navy shows an ignorance of the lessons of history and the conditions of genuine and enduring peace. When one nation becomes so strong that it is able to say to all others, "I am in favor of peace, but it must be a peace in which my will and wish controls," it is morally certain that the outcome of a few years will be war, for it is against human nature to take commands on matters of personal interest or questions of right and justice. The only peace which can endure is that in which the equalities of the nations are recognized, and all disputes are settled by negotiations or submitted to an impartial tribunal for determination. Then all nations will be interested in maintaining peace, knowing that it is peace secured by choice and established in justice. The pathway of history is lined with the wrecks of nations, which for a while developed a commanding force, but were finally destroyed by combinations of weaker nations, or their own internal jealousies. It may be laid down as a political and historic truth that a peace which is born only of force is a peace which is temporary and disappointing.

To lead in the cause of peace no one of the great nations is so well circumstanced as the United States of America. We are remote in distance and separated by oceans from

other nations, so that if one of them were to attack us, it would be fighting at long range, and it is obvious that such fighting is most exhaustive and attended with the least probabilities of success. Of course, the same rule would obtain against us were we to undertake an aggressive war, but an aggressive war assumes no desire for peace. In a defensive war our location is a great defense. In the second place, our resources of men and material are such as to almost guarantee against any attack. Whatever advantage might inure to any nation by reason of its larger armament would be only temporary in its nature and would soon be exhausted by the enormous resources of this country. In the third place, no nation is in such a financial condition. Our debt, compared with that of other great nations, is small, and if we had not been foolish enough to squander money in ironclads and army, we might now be a nation without a debt.

Again, there is in the blood of the American people a tenacity like that of the English bulldog, which when once the fight is on will not give up until victory is won. Wonderfully is this illustrated by our great Civil War, when North and South met and fought for four years, keeping up the fight until one side was exhausted, and not until then did peace come. If any nation attacks us it knows in advance that we will fight to the last.

At the close of the Civil War the great armies disbanded, and the veterans went back to their places in the shop and the field and the office. They had had enough of war; they rejoiced in the coming of peace, and there was no thought or talk of military or naval development. Peace, and peace only, was our purpose, and at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue, just below the Capitol steps, was erected a

magnificent statue to Peace. I remember about thirty years after the close of the war there took place in Washington what was called the "last grand march"; one hundred thousand veterans of the Civil War marched from the Peace statue to the reviewing stand in front of the White House; from early morning until late in the evening that great army was moving. No sword was seen, no musket carried, and the only thing which told the story of their veteran lives was the modest Grand Army hat and button. As those one hundred thousand veterans marched down the avenue I felt as never before the immense strength and power of this republic, and that no nation would dare attack us. That feeling was not confined to myself alone. More than one of the foreign diplomats who saw that magnificent march of those unarmed veterans sent word to his home country, "No war with the United States of America!"

But there is a reason deeper and more significant than the mere matter of ability and safety why this republic should lead in the great work of establishing universal peace. History is not a mere accidental succession of unrelated circumstances. Through the ages one increasing purpose runs. There is an overruling Providence which fashions and shapes human destiny—the destiny of nations as well as of individuals. We may not be absolutely certain of the purposes of Providence, yet we can gain some knowledge of them from noticing events as they come and go, sure that in all the great movements of the nations and of humanity some supreme purpose is being accomplished. I do not mean that there is any fatalism by which the will of the individual or the nation is ignored, but the opportunity comes and the purpose will be accomplished, though the individual or the nation may ignore it and

the duty and the glory be passed over to another. As Lowell says:

> Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
> In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side.

It was not a mere accidental fact that for numbers of succeeding centuries this Western Hemisphere was withheld from the eye of civilization. In a sense profoundly true it was up to four centuries ago a virgin continent,—an untraveled land,—and in the then bringing it within the reach of civilization there was some purpose, which will be accomplished. If I should state in a single sentence that which seems to me the great purpose, it would be that here was to be developed a society and a government based upon the brotherhood of man. All through the Eastern Hemisphere, during its centuries of struggle, the underlying political facts had been the rule of a chief or a king and the organization of tribe or nation on the selfish basis of personal interests. Each nation lived for itself, prosecuted wars with other states and nations to satisfy the ambition of its rulers or to promote its selfish interests. The idea of humanity bound by any obligation of any of its members to all the rest was a thing unknown in practical life and almost unmentioned in the theories of social philosophers. In consequence, everything was determined by the mere matter of might. Ignorance and superstition prevailed. The great masses of humanity were the spoil and prey of a few individuals. Government of and by the people was a thing undreamed of. But about the time of the discovery of America came the invention of printing, which opened the doors of knowledge to all. The Bible was unchained, and with it the bondage of superstition was thrown off. The common people began to assert

themselves and claim the right to control their own government and society. There was fluttering through the world the ever-growing thought of personal, political, social, and religious liberty. It is not strange that, as this continent was settled and social and political conditions were established, a republic, the common school, and the free Bible became the recognized rules and bases of life. All these are significant of and affirm the brotherhood of man.

Another thing which affirms the same is the mingling of races. The allegory of the dispersion at Babel presaged the national life of the Old World. During all that life the human family lived in isolated and antagonistic races and nations. It still remains there the significant fact. You go to China and the Chinese have monopolized that country; into Spain and only Spaniards are found; in France and Germany are French and Germans. Single races form not merely the numerical majority, but they are, if not the sole inhabitants, the controlling factors. Locally every race held to its own place on the face of the globe and maintained its isolated life. But this republic is a new experience. We have every year and for a century past had great streams of populations flowing in from every race — the Anglo-Saxon, the Frenchman, the Teuton, the Scandinavian, the Italian, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Ethiopian. They have gathered here not merely as visitors or travelers, but to stay and become citizens. The dispersion which began at Babel has ended on the banks of the Hudson and the Mississippi. All races are mingled in our citizenship, a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements, but all part and parcel of the life of the republic, here to live and work out with us the destiny of this nation. Statistics illustrate the significance of this: By the census

of 1900 the total population was seventy-six millions, of which nine millions were colored. Of the other sixty-seven millions, ten millions were of foreign birth and sixteen millions more of foreign parentage. So that out of the sixty-seven million whites there were only forty-one millions of native parentage, and they, as we all know, trace their ancestry back at longer or shorter distances to the several races of the Old World. These heterogeneous elements are to fuse into one national American life. By association in work, in business, in political life, in the schoolroom, and a little through inter-racial marriages, the brotherhood of man finds its best illustration in American life. The Bible, which is the great American book, affirms the unity of the race, proclaims the brotherhood of man.

You are all familiar with composite photography. A photographer will take face after face and photograph them upon the same plate until he has produced a composite picture made of the likenesses of the separate faces, and that composite picture brings out to view the strong and marked features of each. America is the national composite photographer. She will take the various races which have come into her midst and cast the leading features of their character into one composite picture upon the plate of history. Thus are we forming the great American race. And this gives to us as to no other nation a power in preserving international peace. Think for a moment of the influence of the German element. There are seven million eight hundred thousand of that race in this country. Though they are loyal citizens of the United States, the ties which link them to the old home life are not all broken. They will stand by the United States if ever Germany should attack us, but, on the other hand, they will always

be a potent force compelling this nation to refrain from attacking Germany. And so with the other races. Their appearance here is a guarantee against any offensive war undertaken by this country against the nation from which they came. Thus by the mingling of the varied races of earth and by the restraining influence consequent therefrom upon the life of this nation is further disclosed the infinite purpose in our national life.

So we have the United States, separated and distant from other nations, and thus in the least danger of attack, with a continental population of eighty millions and over, with resources unequaled by those of any other nation, with the most cosmopolitan population, a population gathered from all races and hence linked to all by home ties of affection, with the freest government, the widest popular knowledge, the most loyal in its devotion to the Christ of Galilee, and therefore with an ear open to the music of the song of the angels of Bethlehem, and thus, may we not truly say, indicated as the fitting leader in the great cause of peace!

As the leading nation on this Western Hemisphere surely the open door is before us. If we fail, the cause of peace will not fail. We shall simply stand in history as the nation which lost the great opportunity. Who can say that in case of our failure there will not be developed on our north a mighty republic which will be true to the cause of peace and become its national leader? Indeed, there are possibilities reaching far beyond this. We fancy that ours is and is to be the leading race, the one out of whose efforts the great benedictions are to come to humanity. We are wont to look at the South American states with a feeling of almost pity or contempt; but are we sure that

if we fail the Latin race will not be the chosen instrument of accomplishing the infinite purpose? Indeed, one can see in the events of the last few years some suggestive foreshadowings.

In South America, Chile and the Argentine Republic disputed for years over their boundary. They were gathering for a desperate and fearful struggle, when in the hour of impending conflict the song of the angels of peace touched the hearts of both nations. They settled their dispute, sold or converted into merchant ships some of their war vessels, and thus took a foremost position in the way of national disarmament. In commemoration of this, on the summit of the Andes, nearly three miles above the level of the sea, on the border line fixed between these nations, has been uplifted a colossal statue of Christ, cast from the bronze of old cannon left there by the Spaniards at the time of the struggle for Argentina's independence, and on it is this inscription: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Chileans and Argentines shall break this peace which at the feet of Christ, the Redeemer, they have sworn to maintain." God speed the day when a similar statue shall be lifted up at the border of every nation to become the enduring witness to perpetual peace. And God forbid that our folly shall transfer the leadership in the great cause of universal peace from the United States of America to any other nation on the face of the globe.

While I have an abiding faith that the tendency of American thought and purpose will ere long be reversed, no one can be blind to the fact that there is a persistent effort to make of this a great military nation. From the football field to the ironclad, from the athlete to the

admiral, the thought and the talk is fight. The cry is fight fair, but fight. The capital city has a different aspect from that which it had a few years ago. Brass buttons and epaulets are filling the eyes. Our newspapers are eulogizing the magnificence of our fleet and army, and the thought of the nation is largely in the direction of naval and military advance. Science is giving its attention to the discovery and manufacture of more effective instruments of death, and we are rapidly drifting into an admiration for the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war." At the First Hague Conference we were among those nations calling for a limitation of armament. Now instead of leading in that direction we are constantly increasing our armament and point with pride to the fact that our naval fighting strength surpasses that of every other nation excepting Great Britain. How has this been brought about? Let us look a little at our history and see how it has happened, and what it suggests. As we are told by the Hon. Charles Sumner, in his great oration on the "True Grandeur of Nations," our total military and naval expenditures during the eight years of Washington's presidential service were only $10,825,000. In his farewell address he urged upon his countrymen to avoid "the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear." Would that our late rulers had shown his calm judgment and sound political wisdom, and during these days of prosperity, instead of extravagant expenditures for military and naval purposes, devoted them to the payment of the national

debt. Following his advice, we extinguished our entire indebtedness before the close of Andrew Jackson's administration. Thereafter came the Mexican War, leaving a small indebtedness, and in 1861 the Civil War, which, lasting four years, piled up a debt of three thousand millions of dollars. Resolutely we proceeded to pay that, and continued to do so until the year 1896, by which time, although recovering from the effects of that exhausting war, and with only limited prosperity, we had paid off two thousand million dollars. We then ceased payment, and to-day our debt remains about the same, increasing rather than diminishing within the last year or two by the issue of bonds for the Panama Canal. Why this change? It sprang from the Spanish War, from personal ambitions and the love of military display. Contrast the two wars. The Civil War lasted four years. The number of those enlisted in the Union army was 2,113,000. The number killed in action was 67,000; died of wounds received in action, 43,000; while the total number of deaths from all causes was 359,000. I have no statistics of the Confederate army, but certainly they would largely increase the total casualties of the war. On the other hand, the Spanish War lasted but a few months. The total number of men mustered in was 223,000. The number killed in action was only 218 — not as many as have been killed in many a single mining catastrophe; the number of those that died from wounds received in action was 81; the number dying from disease, 3848. The total casualties during that war were less than the number killed in railroad accidents in this country during a single year. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number killed on our railways during the year

ending June 30, 1908, was 3764; the number injured, 68,989. Other years show a greater fatality. In the Civil War were some of the greatest battles of history and a terrible loss of life on either side. In the Spanish War, outside of two brilliant naval engagements, there were only a few skirmishes. The two wars taken as a whole compare about like a twelve-inch rifled gun with a small pistol; and yet, as we have seen, after the Civil War there was no cry for an increase in armament, no call for a navy to challenge the fleets of the world, a steady payment of the national indebtedness, a devotion to the pursuits of peace, and a magnificent enlargement of our industries and business, while after the Spanish War we increased our army, and we have been steadily building ironclad after ironclad, until now our navy stands second among the navies of the world.

Putting the matter in another form: During the ten years prior to the Spanish War the expenses of the army and navy, omitting pension charges, were five hundred and seven millions; for the ten years following that war, $1,626,000,000, or $1,119,000,000 more than in the prior ten years. This if applied to the national debt would have paid it in full and left something of a surplus for the digging of the Panama Canal. Is it not strange that so small a war has wrought such a change in the thought and action of the country, when the mightiest of wars wrought so little? Certain interests which profit by naval construction have been active and clamorous. And a not inconsiderable part of the press has filled the air with calls for a larger navy. A little soap and a little water with a great deal of wind will make a large and beautiful bubble. But shortly the bubble will burst, the beauty be gone, and nothing left but soap and water.

As illustrating the effort to develop the naval and military spirit, it is not strange that the chief of staff of the American army has affirmed that we are wasting time in seeking arbitrations, and that the only true course for us to pursue is to make our military and naval strength so great as to be beyond danger of attack. Nor is it strange that the gallant admiral who started in command of our fleet on its tour around the world is reported to have said that the fewer statesmen and the more ironclads there were, there would be less danger of war. In other words, if we had more guns and fewer people unwilling to use them there would be less shooting. Such logic as that, as Mark Twain would say, is simply unanswerable. It might as well be said that to stop personal quarrels and prevent shooting, the law should require every man to carry a loaded pistol in his hip pocket.

I noticed the other day that a distinguished Englishman, long in the fiscal service of China, is credited with the statement that there would be no peace until China, with its four hundred millions, had become a thoroughly trained military nation, and then with her immense force she could say to each nation in the world, "You must be at peace." But how long would such a peace last? Turn to history, and read the answer in the experience of the great nations of the past.

According to circulars issued by the departments in November, 1908, the number of officers on the active list residing in the District of Columbia was 237; on the retired list, 166. The number of officers on the active list in the navy and marine corps was 216; on the retired list, 108. In other words, the number of military and naval officers on the active and retired lists then in the

District of Columbia was 727. Most of these had their families with them. In addition, there were a number of families of deceased officers. Do you wonder that these, connected as they are with the military and naval forces, are gradually transforming the capital of the country into a military and naval center, and that their influence is constantly pressing upon Congress for continued development and increased expenditures in military and naval lines? Contrast this with the judicial service. The number of federal judges in the District of Columbia and in all the states of the Union put together was then only 138, less than twenty per cent of the military and naval officials gathered in the capital city. And yet we have a constant complaint of tardiness in judicial proceedings. Do you wonder that the army and navy make the great American display in all the receptions at the White House, or that the officials who manage such receptions appear in military or naval uniform? And this in face of the fact that all the leaders in the national life have been proclaiming their longing for universal peace.

Do not think for one moment that I am intending any personal reflection on the officers of the army or the navy. I have a large acquaintance among them. Many I count as my warmest and dearest friends. Many I know to be gentlemen of the highest character, the purest and most patriotic of citizens.

History repeats itself. No greater spectacle appeared during the Middle Ages than the Crusades. From western Europe hastened knightly hosts to rescue the Holy Land from Moslem rule. The bravest and best of European chivalry were gathered in these hosts, and many and gallant were the combats. Yet all in vain. From

the English Channel to the City of David lie scattered the bones of those knights, while the crescent still waves over Zion. Indeed, a few missionaries without sword or musket have done more to permanently undermine the power of Mahomet than all the hosts of crusading knights. Equally magnificent was the spectacle of our great fleet moving away from Hampton Roads on its long journey around the world. As it steamed away from the American shores there was a sight that appealed to the pride of every American. They went to show the Oriental what we have in the way of naval power; as was said by our genial President, whom everybody loves, "to put the ironclad in the eyes of the Orientals." Does it not savor of the comic to talk of putting an ironclad in the eyes of Admiral Togo? Yet after all its journey, its parade and frolic, after having been seen by the Orientals, it will not bring the day of peace any nearer. How cleverly the Japanese answered this parade by sending two battleships to our shore.

According to a report made by Secretary Newberry to the Senate, the cost of the coal used on the battleships during the year 1908 was $3,163,000, increased by transportation and storage charges to $5,544,000. Evidently the voyage of the fleet around the world was an expensive luxury. He further reports that it costs over $109,000 a year to keep a first-class battleship in good condition. What has the nation received for all this expenditure?

Another matter: Comparing the appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1910, it appears that for the army, fortifications, and military academy, they amount to $111,897,515.67; for the navy, $136,935,199.05; and for pensions, $160,908,000. Or a total on account of wars and

preparations therefor of $409,740,714.72; while the total executive, legislative, and judicial appropriations for the same length of time are only $32,007,049, the former being twelve times as much as the latter. Is it any wonder that with all our immense revenue we are facing an increase of indebtedness?

In *Appleton's Magazine* Harold Boree states that the amount expended in the single year 1907 for military and naval purposes and pensions, excluding interest on the war debt, was for the four nations, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Germany, $1,184,000,000, this country leading them with an expenditure of $359,000,000. In this connection it may be noticed that our expenditures in 1907 of $359,000,000 have been followed by appropriations for the coming year of $409,000,000, an increase in three years of $50,000,000. They were also more than thirty-seven times as much as the expenditures for the army and navy during the entire eight years of George Washington's administration.

How apt are the words of Longfellow:

> Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
> Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals or forts.

We are told that under the President's direction the navy and army expenditures are respectively to be cut down by $10,000,000 and $20,000,000. But is the construction of a single ironclad stopped or the army reduced by a single regiment? Is it anything more than a postponement of certain not pressing expenditures?

Further, outside of our labors at the two Hague conferences Secretary Root, during the two years of

his administration of the state department, negotiated twenty-four treaties of arbitration. It may be said that notwithstanding such a treaty, a nation may repudiate the agreement to arbitrate and attack us, but the public opinion of the world is strong against any nation that repudiates its treaty obligations, and public opinion is to-day the most powerful force in the world. We have recently voted to restore to our coinage the motto, "In God We Trust." If we can trust him as the guarantor of our dollars, may we not also trust him to make good the international agreements for peace?

Again, when the Navy Bill was before Congress the nation was stirred with the scare of a possible war with Japan. I cannot help noticing how conveniently this scare appears. In the old almanacs it was often stated: "About this time of year look out for a great storm"; and so in our political almanacs it may be as well stated that about the time of year we are considering the question of an increase in the army or navy we may look for a great hue and cry about a probable war with Japan.

Notwithstanding all present opposition, the United States will not fail. She will heed the summons to the lofty mission of peace. The blare of the bugles and the beating of the drum will give way to the song of the angels; and the brotherhood of man, which means peace between the nations, will find its loftiest expression in the unfoldings of our history. There are three great forces in our civilization, each of which, more potent here than elsewhere in the world, voices for international peace; and government of and by the people will heed those voices.

First, the business interests. Nowhere are there more varied and larger business enterprises carried on than in

the United States. Our merchants sweep the entire horizon of the world in their pursuit of business. Our manufacturing industries, some of them gigantic in extension, search the whole realm of industry in the furtherance of their work. The inventor and the mechanical engineer are ever busy devising new methods of toil, new machines, for accomplishing more and better work. Over eight hundred thousand patents for new and useful inventions have been issued from the Patent Office at Washington. The means of locomotion and the facilities for communication are extending in every direction. We have more miles of railroad than any other nation in the world and almost as many as all other nations put together. Mountains are no barrier; rivers do not stay their course. Now all these interests look askance at the prospect of war. They dread the destruction of property and business. They hate to see the efforts of the brainy turned away from the furtherance of these interests into devising additional means of killing and sowing the land with the seeds of destruction. When Mr. Carnegie said that if any controversy arose between Great Britain and the United States it could be intrusted to the merchants of London and New York, who would settle it peacefully and with honor to both nations, he expressed the longing and faith of all business interests and may be looked upon as seer and prophet.

Second, the laborers. The great mass of the American people are toilers, and their votes determine the policy of the government, for it is a government of and by the people. In England the labor party pressed upon the government the consideration of a limitation of armament, and the government, obedient thereto, dared not withhold presenting the matter to the recent Hague conference.

Mr. Kier Hardie, the leader of that party in Parliament, in a recent address in this country declared that the laborers of the world were all opposed to war and demanded that all difficulties between nations should be settled by arbitration. The toilers see that war means the waste and destruction of property. They know that it takes life, that the army is drawn from their numbers, and that their homes are drained to fill the cemeteries of the battle field. They also realize full well that the cost of armies and of war is enormous, that that cost is made good by taxes, and they are beginning to appreciate more and more the fact that they pay the bulk of the taxes. They see the great nations of the Old World piling up from year to year and from decade to decade an ever-increasing burden of debt, and they also perceive that this country (which during thirty years had paid off two thirds of the debt created by the Civil War) has since then for military armament and naval display not only ceased to reduce, but has practically ceased all efforts at reduction. They are weighing the earnest words of Secretary Root when, appealing to the South American states for a closer union, he declared:

"Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the

causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burdens of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for all."

It is a startling commentary on these words and these efforts of Secretary Root that, impelled by the action of this nation in building up a navy, Brazil and Argentina have lately commenced the enlargement of theirs and decline to enter into an agreement to stop the increase at a certain limit.

The laborers, as all others, know that debt piled up for a navy is just as heavy a burden as a debt piled up for an army. They know that while the stock gamblers of New York may water stock there is no power that can water a debt — not even a debt for a navy. It remains a constant burden, whose interest is an annual drain and whose principal stands in the way of those works of peace which will promote the happiness and comfort of all. We hear from them already in the declarations of their organized bodies that arbitration must be the rule, that international peace must be the object, and that military and naval armaments must stop their growth. Nowhere in the world is the toiler such a power in the government. Nowhere is he such an intelligent force, so fully understanding the curse and cost of war, and his opposition will grow more and more emphatic until every lawgiver hears and heeds.

Third, woman. I am not now speaking as champion or prophet of female suffrage. I note only the fact that the last half century has changed her position. She is no

longer a purely home body, but has entered largely into public life. Whether voting or not, she has become an active and vigorous force in the national life. Her patriotism is as certain and as strong as that of her brother, and whenever the need comes, although she may not shoulder the musket or draw the sword, she does all that is possible to ameliorate the hardships of war. The Red Cross is her work and her glory, and the noble bands of women who are giving their time and strength to increasing its efficiency and extending the reach of its influence are among the heroines of the nation. But while all this is true, you need no assurance that her voice is and always will be potent for peace. No mother nurses her baby boy and rears him to manhood without dread that his life may in its prime be cut off by the merciless bullet. She looks forward to old age in the hope and faith that that boy, in the vigor and strength of manhood, will be her comfort, support, and glory. There never was a time since the beginning of days that woman longed for bloodshed or the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war and in favor of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith, and he who looks for public recognition in this country will do well to take note of this fact.

These are three great forces in the life of this nation; and as they unite in the effort for arbitration and international peace, they will compel the public men of the day to heed their demands.

I believe in the promises of Scripture, that His word shall not return unto Him void, but shall accomplish that which He pleases and shall prosper in the thing whereto He hath sent it; that the time will come when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks, and when men shall learn war no more forever.

With the eye of faith I see unrolled on the canvas of the future a glorious picture, in which shall be seen every laborer dwelling beneath his own vine and fig tree, receiving ever a living wage for his toil, every merchant and manufacturer pursuing his business and his industry without a thought of interruption by the ravages of war, and men of science and wealth combining in the achievement of more and more gigantic results, adding not merely to the necessities, but also to the comforts and luxuries of life, taking possession of land and water and air, and all the forces to be found in them, and making them minister to human life. In the foreground will be seen that highest type of womanhood, the Madonna, and across her bosom will be these words: "Mary hath kept all these things, and hath pondered them in her heart"; while underneath will shine in letters of fadeless light, "The United States of America has fulfilled its mission."

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